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[No. II.]

A
CAUTION
TO THE
INHABITANTS
OF

DUBLIN: K

BY A FREEMAN OF DUBLIN.

DUBLIN PRINTED.

1799



TO THE
INHABITANTS
OF
DUBLIN.

WHAT I am to explain to you in this address, are the commercial advantages which England proposes to grant to Ireland, on the event of an Union, in addition to those which Ireland already enjoys.

When the famous Irish Propositions were framed in this country, one of the principal sources of wealth they proposed to open to you, was what is called the channel trade. By the arrangements then in contemplation for accomplishing this object, not only the English market would be open to us for those productions and manufactures of our own, on the importation of which, into
B 2 England,

England, there are duties amounting to a prohibition, but also several articles wanting in our markets, and essential to our manufactures, on the exportation of which from England to this country, high duties are laid, were to be sent to us free from duty.

What it was then proposed to grant to us, on the footing of a treaty of commerce, formed between two independent nations, and calling itself final, though in fact depending on the will and caprice of the respective legislators of each country, is offered to us, by the projected Union, as our own, to be possessed in our own full right, unalienable, and irrevocable. The British market is to be opened to our manufacturers in the same manner as it is open to the manufacturers of Great Britain, and the interests are of both in future to be one and the same.

It cannot as yet be forgotten in what sounding terms certain persons amongst us extolled the advantages which Ireland was to derive from the regulations thus proposed in 1785. I will not enter into details. Their speeches are printed; and to them I will refer you for what those gentlemen

* See the Speeches of the Right Hon. John Foster in the printed Debates on the Irish Propositions.

them thought of the resolutions as they were to affect the manufacture of your cottons, your worsted and mixed stuffs, your low woollens.—As they were to secure you against all future prohibition on coals, rock salt, bark, tin, hops and other articles, most of which could be got only from England.

It now suits the views and interests of those very men, to depreciate what they then so highly extolled. To represent the boon thus offered to us by England as of no value. They are men of great versatility of parts, great ingenuity, plausible, insinuating. They will never be at a loss to represent what they wish you to believe, in the most imposing colors. But your plain sense will tell you, that what would have been beneficial in 1785, must be equally so in 1799.—That what was to procure you only conditional advantages, granted to you by a power that was independent of you, and on terms which might not be observed on either side, cannot be of equal value as when these advantages are made our own, in full and I may say, natural enjoyment and fruition, depending on no conditions, secured to you exactly in the same manner as they are to the country that grants them to you, and that if there is any
change,

change, it must be in the interests and views of these men, and not in the thing itself.

But leaving these men to reconcile their own inconsistencies in the best way they can, I shall content myself with laying before you, what I conceive to be the strongest proofs, that in many of the manufactures, in which Dublin is most interested, the opening of the English market, will become to you a source of encreasing wealth and prosperity. I will submit to you the opinions of the best judges on the question.—The depositions given in at the bar of the House of Commons of England by the most wealthy English manufacturers, in their alarm at the proposal of throwing open the English market to the manufactures of Ire'and.

Mr. Robert Peale, a calicoe-manufacturer and printer, deposed that he paid in excise duties no less than 20,000l. per annum. From this circumstance you will form a judgment of the extent, to which he carried on this manufacture, and his opinions will have a proportionate weight with you. This Gentleman being asked what he conceived would be the effect of permitting the articles in which he dealt to be imported from Ireland into the English market,

market, he answered, “*If the Irish are allowed
 “ to send their goods to the English market, they
 “ will not only injure us in our home trade, but
 “ we have great reason to fear that they will
 “ draw so much ready money from this country,
 “ as to enable them to give credit to foreign
 “ countries, and very materially injure that
 “ trade.” Being asked if England had not a su-
 periority in her cotton manufactures he answered,
 “ The superiority, if we have it, is of that nature
 “ that it can be easily removed into a neighbour-
 “ ing kingdom; *and so much am I satisfied of it*
 “ *that since the Irish Resolutions came before this*
 “ *House, I have wrote to a principal House in*
 “ *Ireland to have a connexion with it for the*
 “ *purpose of supplying the consumption of Eng-*
 “ *land.*”

He was asked if England could lose her cotton
 manufacture in any way but by the loss of her
 industry—he answered “that he thought England
 “ might lose her manufactory, by the English
 “ manufacturer of property employing his capital
 “ in Ireland. *That he would certainly employ it*
 “ *there himself, if the British market should be*
 “ *opened to Ireland—That he had heard many per-*
 “ *sons*

* See the printed minutes.

“ sons in the manufacture declare the same intention, and that his own determination was to remove part of his manufacture, and employ part of his capital there immediately.”

Mr. Joseph Smith, a gentleman in the same business, and who also paid upwards of 20,000 pounds excise, made similar depositions, and expressed similar intentions of employing his capital in Ireland, and they both supported their opinions on this subject, by reasons, which it would swell this address to too great a length to transcribe.

Mr. Thomas Walker, one of the wealthiest men in the fustian trade, and who was delegated by the town of Manchester to look to the interests of that trade, being asked, if he did not think that on the cotton manufacturers of Ireland having the English market open to them, they would undersell the manufacturers at Manchester, he answered, “ In the fustian trade in which I am concerned, I have no doubt that they could at this time do it; and I have every reason to believe, that in a short time they would undersell us in the other fustian articles.”—The same he said of the cheque trade, and of the small-ware trade, that is, tapes, garters, bindings, &c. and added,

added, that he had been told by the first manufacturer in Manchester, in the silk way, " that " if the Irish Resolutions, as they affected the " home market, were to pass into a law, he " could not carry on his trade in England."—Mr. Walker further read a letter he had received from Mr. Thomas Smith, of Manchester, in which was this passage, " The number of hands " employed in the small-ware manufacture may " be three thousand, who will be soon compelled " to emigrate, if the English market be opened " to Ireland. *For my own part, I cannot hesitate " a moment to declare my firm intention of going to " Ireland.*"

As a further confirmation of the substance of these opinions, Mr. Stanley,* member for Lancashire, presented a petition from eighty thousand manufacturers, stating, that the admission of Irish cotton and fustians into England, would completely annihilate the cotton trade of that country.

Depositions and declarations of a similar nature were made before the English House of Commons

* This gentleman now commands the Lancashire regiment of militia in this kingdom.

Commons on this occasion by the silk-weavers, and the workers in mixed silks, by the stationers, paper manufacturers, by persons engaged in the export of shoes, by tanners, by saddlers, by the manufacturers of cut-glass and earthen-ware, by the iron-mongers, by the * soap-boilers and tallow-chandlers; but I pass these to come to the evidence laid before the House in support of a petition from the low woollen, and the worsted stuff manufacturers. This petition stated it as the unanimous opinion of these manufacturers, that the opening of the English market to similar articles of manufacture in Ireland would be highly injurious to that trade,—that they employed in their manufacture large quantities of Irish yarn, as Irish wool was particularly well adapted for making such goods, and as they could not procure sufficient English yarn for the extent to which they then carried on the manufactory—that therefore, if the English market, in which there was the greatest demands for such goods,

* The soap-boilers would be certainly among the principal gainers, by having the English market open to them. Most of the Kelp used in England, is brought from this country under all the disadvantages of prime cost, and inland carriage. It further pays a duty, as does also barilla. Here we have kelp of our own, and barilla, as an ingredient in our linen manufacture must be for ever duty free. Yet the soap-boilers have petitioned against the Union!

as they formed the chief dress of the manufacturing and labouring orders, should be opened to Ireland, the Irish manufacturers would, of course, work up their own materials, and having them at so infinitely a cheaper rate (if there was no other circumstance in their favour) they could not fail to undersell the English manufacturer in his own market. The purport of this petition was supported by the evidence of Mr. Richard Sharp, a considerable woollen and worsted manufacturer, and he concluded his deposition by observing, “ that he had it from the best possible
 “ source of information, that shalloon wrought
 “ in Ireland was better than any that was ever
 “ manufactured at Rumsey, which is the best
 “ manufactory in England, and that it was
 “ bought considerably lower.”

But it was not only the manufacturers of low woollens and worsted stuffs that were thus alarmed: the manufacturers of the finer cloths came also forward to express their fears. It was not, they said, that they were under any apprehension that this branch of the manufacture would be immediately affected by the new system, as the Irish manufacturer was not as expert as the English. But these reflecting men did not suffer themselves to be imposed on by that specious
 argument

argument which has so much weight with so many of you, that under our *present circumstances* and in the *present* state of our manufactures we cannot pretend to meet the English manufacturer in his market or in our own. But to enable us to do so, is the chief object of the projected Union, as it was then of the original Irish Propositions; and it was under this impression that the woollen manufacturers stated, that from the vicinity of the two countries, the facility with which skilful English weavers might pass into Ireland, and the great encouragement that would not fail to be given to them, this advantage from the inferiority in the Irish finer cloths would not long subsist. As to the raw material, England could possess no advantage over Ireland in that essential particular. Ireland makes clothes of her own wool as high as twelve shillings a yard; this wool is fit to mix with the Spanish wool, as the finer and coarser English wools are mixed with it to make the second cloths. The fine cloths of the Devizes, and the country about it, are made entirely of the Spanish wool. Thus the Irish manufacturer can purchase in the same way as the English: he pays only the same original price for it, but he procures it at a less expence of freight. From all these circumstances the woollen manufacturers concluded that if the Irish manufacturers had not yet turned their attention

tion to any plan of improving their manufacture of fine woollen cloths, to an extent to alarm England, it was chiefly because their exclusion from the British market gave them no encouragement to divert any part of their capital that way. But they contended that when the British market should be open to them, with all the encouragement of shorter conveyance, quicker sale, and speedier returns than the other markets could afford them, they would speedily have their proportion with the British manufacturer in this the great object of their wishes.

The last manufacturers whom I shall mention as having come forward on this alarm, are the manufacturers of Norwich. From their evidence it appeared, that they could buy in Norwich such Irish worsted yarn, as is essential to that manufacture, cheaper than English, although it was subject to four or five duties before it reached them, and was also subject to the expence of the voyage and of the carriage, in addition to the internal duties in Ireland. From these circumstances one of their principal manufacturers deposed, that upon a fair and just calculation, Ireland could manufacture her worsted yarn, in similar articles, forty-five or fifty per Cent. cheaper than England:

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was it not therefore, he said, obvious to conclude, that Ireland would turn her attention immediately to this manufacture, and that either the Irish or the English capitalist would be able to undersell England, even in her own market.

If I were to write volumes in answer to the men whose views it now suits to depreciate the opening of the English market to our manufacturers, I could not hope to convince you of the deceptions they put upon you so effectually as by submitting to you the opinions and declarations of persons so deeply interested in the question, and so competent to decide upon it. They did not require to be told, that if the English market was to be thrown open to Ireland, the Irish market would be equally thrown open to England, without any of the regulations that now protect the infant state of our manufacture. They knew it; but they also knew that in many essential branches of manufacture, * they possessed no superiority

* I will here transcribe the remainder of the letter from Mr. Thomas White to Mr. Walker, to which I have already alluded.

“ About thirty years ago this kingdom imported from Holland all the tapes they consumed, commonly called Holland
“ or

periority over us ; and that in those in which they excelled, it was the very object of the system to raise us to a level with them, and that this would be its necessary operation.

England did not confirm the settlement thus proposed, to the extent to which the Irish Parliament had carried it; and Ireland rejected it, as it was amended and altered by the English minister. Ireland, under the system of the original Propositions, could not make a single acquisition without a proportionate loss to England. She would

“ or Dutch tapes. But a Mr. Cornelius Vanlandford, a native
 “ of Holland, emigrated to this country, and established that
 “ manufactory here; and ever since we have been capable of
 “ supplying our own markets with those articles, and to export
 “ considerable quantities to America. If such consequences
 “ could arise from one man emigrating, how much more is to
 “ be dreaded from a considerable number? So far relates to
 “ the small ware-house. With respect to the Irish manufac-
 “ turers of low fustians, they have made such a progress in
 “ those articles, that I have it from undoubted authority they
 “ are now selling half-ell white jean or lining fustian from 16s
 “ to 17s per piece, of 20 yards long, equal in quality of those
 “ selling here at 21s. The same proportion in pillow fustians,
 “ and low priced linen back corduroys. I have this day with
 “ with me a merchant from America, who has purchased all
 “ his low priced cotton goods from Ireland, and only purchased
 “ from me a few of the higher priced kind. These are facts I
 “ am ready to substantiate any way you chuse; and you are at
 “ full liberty to make use of my name in proof of these asser-
 “ tions at the Bar of the House of Commons.”

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rush into her markets as a formidable rival, to bear away her profits, without contributing any adequate part to the public expence. She would injure the revenues of England in proportion as she either encroached upon, or brought over to herself, the principal objects of taxes and excise. England, therefore, rejected the system, unless under some controul from her own Parliament; and this Ireland refused.

But the proposed Union stands upon very different ground. England now comes forward with a voluntary offer to abolish all distinctions, all clashing of interests; to cut off all sources of jealousy and rivalry; to leave no further room for considerations of either the more or the less, which either nation may gain or lose on the other. She wishes to admit you to all the benefits of her own market without conditions; or rather, to have but one market with you; or, if this should appear to you to be in some articles a thing not to be desired by you, to give the boon to you on such terms as may make it the most beneficial to you, and protect those manufactures in which you have not as yet equalled her. It is no longer a *bargain* that she proposes to make with you, as with a separate distinct state; as with a people whom
she

she is willing to enrich, though not at her own expence. She proposes that you should make her trade as your own: That you should enjoy the same advantages in her market as she does in yours: That all the sources of wealth she commands may be common to both: That your trade should differ no more from her's, than the trade of Manchester from Liverpool: And that your commerce should be the same with her's, as the commerce of London is with that of Bristol.

Such is the Union which England offers you—yet the very men who reproached Ireland with folly and infatuation for rejecting the system proposed by these Propositions, or what they called the fanciful ground of entrenching on her independence; now, when the British market is offered to you as your own, and with a solemn renunciation of all rivalship, all exclusion, spirit up Ireland to reject the offer, and affect to fill the public mind with fears for our independence, than which I hope to prove in some future address nothing can be more fanciful.

Surely you will not always submit to the degradation of being imposed on by such men. You will see, for yourselves, what the necessary effects of the Union must be on those manufactures, in which

your city is principally interested. It is in your vicinity that these manufactures must continue to be established in their great extent. You form the point of immediate communication with England. You will become the emporium between the two kingdoms—The repository where the productions and produce of both countries shall be deposited for the regular supply of both.—Through the canals, by which you will have a cheap communication with the inland parts of this kingdom, you will convey every article of Irish growth, or manufacture, into your ware-houses; from them you will ship them to the English ports, and by the same canals you will float into the country the commodities you may bring in return from England, as well as all the produce of the Colonial and foreign markets. These returns will be quick, English capital will flow in with them, and your merchants and manufacturers, enriched daily by this traffic, will continue to extend, and to embellish your city, to encrease its population, and to raise the value of the lands in its circuit, and in its vicinity. Your poor starving manufacturers in the Liberty will see their trade not only revived, but carried on to an extent hitherto unknown; and as distress and want of employment has driven them into disorder, riot, perhaps rebellion,

lion, the returning, the encreasing comforts of successful industry will restore them to quiet and peace.

And yet you are to be deceived and talked out of these prospects! You are to be amused by fanciful calculations, not from the counting houses of skilful merchants and traders, men supposed to be most competent to decide upon such subjects, but from the desks of lawyers, on whom you would think a guinea thrown away in conducting a simple suit for a book debt. These men affect to calculate to a fraction what money is to be spent out of your city in particular, and out of the kingdom at large, by a given number of noblemen and gentlemen, residing for a part of the year in England—as if a greater number, did not, under the present system, reside there every year for a longer period than their attendance on their Parliamentary duty could require—as if the troubles which now agitate this unfortunate country, which in the opinions of the wisest men, that ever were gifted to rule the world where it is wildest, an Union is the only effectual expedient to compose, did not drive, and if they continue, will not continue to drive more families out of your capital and out of your kingdom,

don't, than if both your Houses of Parliament were to emigrate in a body,

What miserable stuff have I seen thrust upon you, in these crude calculations. So ignorant is one of the men who deals most in them, of every thing connected with the subject, that he supposes that infinitely more money will be transmitted out of this kingdom, for the support of his emigrants, than our whole circulating specie amounts to. But without entering into this subject, which is not level to the comprehension of every one, although this one simple fact may well convince you of this man's absurdity, these dashing calculators conclude at once, that all the proposed representatives of your nobility are for ever to desert their family seats; to abandon all care of their property, by which alone they can be enabled to support their state under the new order of things; to give up all attention to those interests which have raised them to the pre-eminence they enjoy among their fellow subjects. They suppose that your Commons, the great proportion of whom are, comparatively with those of England, men of moderate fortunes, will fix themselves and their families, for their winter establishment, in the British metropolis, and for the summer in some
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of the country parts of England, either to ruin their fortunes by an emulation of expence with the great English Commoners, or to sink into a place below their natural level, and mix with a society for which themselves, their wives and their children are unfitted by their education and their habits.—That they will neglect all regards to their Constituents; all the attentions they owe them, all means of conciliating a continuance of their favour, or of recommending themselves to their future support, by residing amongst them, by living with them in the interchange of any of the usual civilities of society and good neighbourhood that produce affection, and conciliate esteem and confidence.—That they are to be followed by all our gentry, and that the whole kingdom is to be left to bankrupt merchants, starving shopkeepers, tillers of the ground, without a market for their produce, mechanics without work, and labourers without employment.

Is it in simplicity itself to be amused by such suppositions? By similar deceptions it was that the people of Edinburgh suffered themselves to be misled, and inflamed, at the time of the Union with Scotland, against all manner of reasoning, says the historian, “ against Nature, against inte-
 “ rest,

“rest, fighting against their approaching free-
 dom, insulting the promoters of their happi-
 ness, and with inexpressible uneasiness receiv-
 ing the blessings of universal peace.”—Yet
 what has been the fact? Some few of their prin-
 cipal nobility and richest commoners have houses
 in London; but although most of their country
 seats are at much a greater distance from Lon-
 don than any part of this kingdom is placed,
 they never fail to visit them, or to reside there a
 considerable part of the year. The far greater
 number of the representatives, as well Peers as
 Commoners, content themselves with lodgings
 during the session of Parliament, leaving their
 families either at their country seats, or at Edin-
 burgh, to which they almost all resort in the
 winter to educate their children, to bring them
 out into the world, or to partake in the gaiety
 and amusements of that beautiful and flourishing
 capital. For beautiful and flourishing that
 capital is, notwithstanding what your patriots tell
 you of its depopulated starving condition. Be-
 fore the Union its population was thirty-five
 thousand five hundred, in the year 1791, it had
 encreased to eighty-four thousand eight hundred
 and eighty-six.

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Where the circumstances are the same, the same consequences will follow, and the removal of her parliament will no more operate against Dublin, than it has operated against Edinburgh*. You will have an attractive for your gentry to resort you, which Edinburgh had not, the Court of your Lord Lieutenant. Your Courts of Law will be more crowded in proportion to the more extensive population of your country, and its greater mass of fluctuating property. Your gentry will equally crowd together in the winter with their families, to enjoy that society, partake in those

* In a work lately published from authentic documents it is said, that, "the city of Edinburgh is tripled in point of extent since the Union. It is computed that within these last thirty years, the new buildings public and private, new streets and squares have cost above two millions sterling. The public offices, the courts of justice, the register house, the offices of excise and customs, the new university, the theatres, assembly-rooms, bridges, &c. &c. do not yield a magnificence to those of any capital in Europe."—If Edinburgh has thus increased, and been beautified since her Union with England, how is a Union with England to affect or lessen the present extent and beauty of your capital? Can what has enriched Edinburgh impoverish you? Paris has increased of late years in the same proportion as London and Dublin; yet the States General, that is the Parliament in our sense of the word, never assembled there from the days of Henry Fourth to the beginning of the Revolution, nor have the Kings of France even held their courts there since the beginning of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth.

amusements,

amusements, and procure those advantages for their children, as well with respect to their education as to their establishment in life, which no other place can hold out to them. They will follow the bias of those manners, and conform to that fashion which I have pointed out as among the causes not only of the first increase of your city, but of London and the other capitals of Europe. Your wealthy merchants, increasing daily in number, will exhibit to you the state and splendor of that class in England, to which you have been hitherto strangers, and they will soon indemnify you for the absence of a few titled men, who may chuse a fixed residence in England, and whose names those of you who are shopkeepers are now so wonderfully pleased to see figuring on your books for a few weeks in the year.

A FREEMAN OF DUBLIN.

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